IF LINCOLN WERE HERE

JOHN WESLEY HILL

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By John Wesley Hill

Abraham Lincoln: Man of God

If Lincoln Were Here

For Mrs Lucy G. Speed, from whose pious hand I accepted the present of an Oxford Bible twenty years ago.
Washington, D.C. October 3, 1861
A. Lincoln

(By permission of the Century Co.)

IF LINCOLN WERE HERE

BY

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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1925

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To

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF AMERICA

CONCERNING WHOM LINCOLN SAID:

"IF GOD DIDN'T LOVE THEM, HE WOULDN'T HAVE MADE SO MANY OF THEM,"

THIS BOOK

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

INTRODUCTORY TRIBUTE

ON February 12, 1809, two men were born. They have been dust for many years. Yet each played a large part in the great world war that recently reached its close. These men were Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin. Darwin devoted his life to the study of material things. In that world in which he lived he found heredity and environment to be the controlling facts. Out of his study came the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. The *savants* of Germany made that doctrine the

cornerstone of a new philosophy which they called Kultur.

According to Kultur, the world belonged to the strong and to the strong alone. Might was right and the world was in the relentless grip of physical force. Justice, gentleness, righteousness, were words invented by the weak to protect themselves against the strong. To pity a foe was weakness, to spare him was a crime. Kultur was a denial of the moral law; was a blind faith in the power of the laws of life which Darwin had declared. The fatal defect in Kultur was that it assumed that Darwin's theory covered the entire philosophy of life. This was not so. He was accounting only for the material universe. He never denied so far as I have discovered that there was a

larger world—the moral and spiritual world. Kultur overlooked this and took its fatal plunge.

Abraham Lincoln was born in a cabin in Kentucky. If heredity and environment had been all there was in human life we never should have heard his name. While Darwin delved in rocks to find vanished forms of life, Lincoln studied men. By them his sympathies were quickened; the moral depths of his being were stirred; the right and wrong of human conduct engaged his deepest thought. Just as the laws of physical being unfolded under the eye of the great scientist, so the laws of the moral universe disclosed themselves to the great man. Lincoln had never read *The Origin of Species*, but he knew that under the moral law an injury inflicted upon

an inferior by a superior man reacts upon himself. He said:

> This is a world of compensation and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. And those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.

Unconsciously Lincoln became the interpreter of the moral laws of society just as Darwin became the interpreter of the physical laws of life. Therefore Lincoln asserted that all men had the inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Lincoln was as much at home amidst the play of moral and spiritual forces as was Darwin in the realm of mere matter. It was this moral grandeur to which Lincoln attained that made him the wisest of all men. For, after all, wisdom is largely a product of char-

acter. Men may be intellectually brilliant, indeed brilliant beyond compare, and yet be utterly lacking in wisdom. Where other men had views, Lincoln had convictions. Convictions come from the heart and not from the brain. And so whenever there arises a question of human liberty or of human rights, one may turn to Lincoln for an answer without inquiring as to the particular year in which he wrote. There is a perfect harmony running through all his utterances.

It is not strange that as Kultur was partially founded upon the doctrine of Darwin, so the Allies in the great war found their chief inspiration in the life of Abraham Lincoln. For this great contest was a war between the material forces of the world upon the one hand and the

spiritual forces upon the other. Where the Central Empire found comfort in *The Origin of Species*, the statesmen of England and France, and of Italy and the United States, read the Gettysburg speech and the Second Inaugural and thereby renewed their faith and refreshed their courage.

We have known ever since Lincoln's death that he was America's most perfect product, but we did not learn how much he meant to all the world until the great war came and civilization was threatened on every front. Then it was that in France or England or wherever the torch of liberty still burned and men were fighting for righteousness with their backs to the wall—then it was that the whole world turned to the words of Lincoln. And so

in our own country Lincoln loomed a mightier figure than ever before. During the most depressing period of the war, when our Allies were becoming war-weary, whenever a mission from foreign lands visited America either to stimulate our activities or to renew their own courage, that mission made a pilgrimage to Lincoln's tomb. I was in Springfield when the French mission headed by Marshal Joffre visited that city. I drove with the great French soldier who held the enemy at bay in the first Battle of the Marne, to the cemetery where lies Lincoln's dust. As I looked at the old hero and saw his streaming eyes and his trembling hands as he laid his tribute of blossoms upon Lincoln's bier, I thought I could see that he in that sacred presence had

resolved anew "They shall not pass."

Within the last few years we have had before our very eyes two attempts to replace a civilization founded upon righteousness, upon moral and spiritual concepts, with a purely materialistic and Godless structure. First, under the leadership of their philosophers Germany evolved the idea that the state could do no wrong. She had been marvelous in her achievements during the years which had preceded the war; she had shown an efficiency which challenged the admiration of the world; she had come to think that she had so far conquered matter in all its forms that she could rest her future upon a material base alone. And we know the result. We saw that no matter

how well disciplined her legions, when those legions hurled themselves against less perfectly disciplined legions—moved and sustained, however, by a deep moral purpose—we saw her splendid legions dashed to pieces. And again at almost the same time another effort was made to build a civilization upon material concepts alone. This time it was in Russia that the effort was made. There they had taken as a basis for their new philosophy of government the principles of Karl Marx, which sought to resolve all things into material terms. Churches were dismantled; the clergy were driven from the altar; and a civilization based upon purely material concepts was the thing attempted. The world knows the result. It now sees that it is just as impossible to rest a

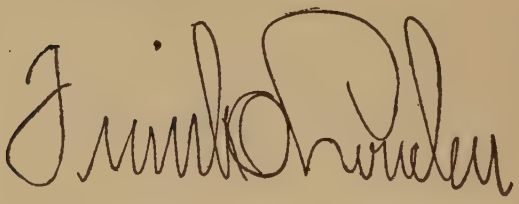
civilization upon a material base as it is upon the might of the sword alone.

There is this in common between the two attempts—the attempt of the German Militarists and the attempt of the Bolshevists—and that is that each sought to eliminate all spiritual forces and all moral qualities from their respective schemes. And therefore it never seemed to me strange that the Bolshevists, when they came into possession of Russia, should meet the ambassadors of Militarism at Brest-Litovsk upon equal terms and there frame a treaty of peace. Isn't it strange that with these two colossal failures staring us in the face we should need to be reminded by Lincoln that "it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God."

We are confronted with grave and perplexing problems. Civilization itself seems to some hanging in the balance. The world is drifting whither no man knows. How quickly all this would change if these words of Lincoln could only enter and hold the heart of the world in these troublous times.

The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. Democracy concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life he was its noblest champion. In death he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause for which he lived and died has now become the cause of all the world. It is more than a half century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his

pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, are the swor ' and shield with which democracy humanity and righteousness everywhere oppose their foes.



Oregon, Ill.
Sinnissippi Farm.
November, 1925.

PREFACE

IN times of crises in a nation's life, when confronted with great perplexities as to national policy, the people turn back the pages of history and seek guidance in the precepts and examples of its heroes of the past.

It was Washington, the statesman, the creator of the nation, whom we selected as our mentor in political exigencies of international scope. When, however, we seek for guidance in those great questions of "humanics" involving the relation between man and man, we turn and reread the life of Lincoln, the saviour of the nation created by Washington.

The world is now asking, What did Lincoln think? What would Lincoln do? He was not a great student nor was he a man of extensive learning, but he possessed in a signal degree the ability to think clearly, the courage to think justly, and was ever guided in determining his attitude in matters of state, no less than those of society, by the golden rule, which he often quoted in vindication of his policy.

Our country in common with the rest of the world, though in a less degree, is agitated by conflicting and acrimonious views in the settlement of the all-important issue upon which the peace, prosperity and welfare of mankind depends, the labor problem. In this crisis we turn to Lincoln, not as a statesman nor as an economist, but as the

great prophet of liberty and apostle of justice—one pre-eminently qualified to adjudge the righteousness of a cause—Lincoln whom "God sent to ring in the love of truth and right!"

In Lincoln's time, the great labor problem—if we regard it for the moment in its economic aspect, and this aspect was recognized by Lincoln—was that of slavery. With his infallible judgment, Lincoln perceived in slavery the Sword of Damocles dangling over our American Democracy. "This nation cannot remain half slave and half free." "A House divided against itself cannot stand," were his exact words in stigmatizing the anomaly of slavery in a democracy.

The rights of the laborer were involved as an economic proposition

in the great moral issue of slavery. Lincoln realized this and said in a speech in 1847:

> To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.

Marx had sounded the note of war on capital and private ownership in his communist manifesto of 1848. Cabet, Louis Blanc and Proudhon, in France were thundering the immortal lie that "Property is Robbery." Maurice, Kingsley and Carlyle were sounding in more delicate terms the discontent of British labor.

The political doctrine of Marx is the prototype of Bolshevism. Its exponent was Lenin, the Twentieth Century Attila, whose avowed pur-

pose was to destroy all governments the world over by sinister and insidious propaganda and to erect upon their ruin Sovietism, the most ruthless in its methods and the most blighting in effect of all autocracies in history. Lincoln would be a militant opponent of Bolshevism.

While in America in Lincoln's day industrialism was not a topic of paramount interest, nevertheless controversies between capital and labor were assuming a disquieting proportion.

Lincoln unquestionably perceived the irrepressible conflict. With his inclusive mind, he recognized the responsibility of capital to labor. He saw that they depended on each other and that the relation was reciprocal.

He realized that the moment labor was denied the hope of acquisition, it was degraded to slavery. He realized too that to destroy or do away with capital would produce universal poverty. While Lincoln recognized the temptation of capital to impose upon labor, and the frailty of human nature in man's dealing with his fellow men, the disposition of the demagogue to play against capital was to Lincoln anathema.

While in one speech he would sound a note of warning to greedy capitalists, in the next he would admonish communistic tendencies on the part of labor. At New Haven in March, 1860, he said:—

> I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons why I am opposed to slavery is just here. What is

the true condition of the labourer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free, to acquire property as far as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in law to prevent a man from getting rich. It would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else.

This is the "square deal!"

Lincoln would have believed in collective bargaining; he would not have believed in the closed shop. He would have tolerated no class legislation in a democracy. He refused to admit a class distinction between capital and labor. He regarded capital and labor as a mixed, not a distinct class, and he said, "No principle is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class."

Lincoln himself is a living example of the priceless opportunity which

democracy affords even to the lowliest. In a speech in 1854 he said, "There is no permanent class of hired labourers amongst us. Twenty-five years ago, I was a hired labourer." Lincoln of all the great men of his day was the foremost champion of freedom of action in our political and economic life, so far as there was no violation of the rights common to the community at large. Lincoln would have opposed the right on the part of the Police or railroad employees to organize, if such organization implied the right to strike when it would menace the safety and the welfare of other members of the community.

No one realized better than Lincoln the supreme importance of preserving intact the smaller as well as the larger units, which go to make up

the Nation. To insure the safety of the Union and its component parts, Lincoln would have sacrificed all subordinate problems, even those affecting the relation of classes in the community, for he perceived too clearly the utter futility of attempting to preserve the rights of the individual except through the power of a union of all the individuals of the nation.

What we today revere in the memory of Lincoln was his great and abiding optimism; his generous and delicate consideration, for the opinions of those with whom he differed; his inflexibility of purpose; straightforwardness in the doing of things, and absolute frankness in public and private expression; his entire subordination of personal interest and motive, and no less the sub-

ordination of partisanship to the welfare of the nation.

"A man who never sold the truth to save
the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for Power."

His untimely death deprived the nation of the one man who could have spared it the sufferings of the period of reconstruction as the aftermath of the Civil War.

Only by preserving the highest reverence for the traditions of Lincoln—The Man of God—and a common determination to maintain the standards he established, can peace be assured at home and abroad, for

"Never Earth's philosopher,
Traced, with his golden pen,
On the deathless page, truth half so sage,
As Lincoln wrote down for men!"

Dr. Hill's volume has been written to express the ideals of Abraham Lincoln and he is right in contending that whenever Lincoln's immediate task of preserving the peace of America had been attained, he would have given himself with full devotion to the ideal of adjusting issues between the nations in a World Court. Dr. Hill's analysis makes clear that Lincoln would have stood for a world to be ruled not by war, but by law.

FOREWORD

THE first time I expected to hear Mr. Lincoln speak, he did not speak. The gentleman who was assigned to introduce him used up the schedule, and the train started before he had finished. His effort was to interpret Mr. Lincoln to the crowd.

Many thousands of books and pamphlets have been written to explain Lincoln. Most of them reveal the author but not the subject. The original idea of Dr. Hill has been to let Mr. Lincoln speak for himself, and he has demonstrated that Mr. Lincoln discussed every great principle of liberty and relig-

ion, of popular right and government with a vision, foresight and clarity that seem almost inspired.

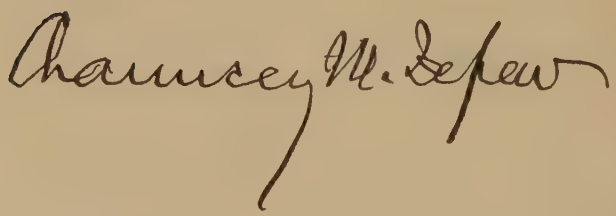
Lincoln's supreme reliance was on prayer, and he was one of the very few gifted souls in the story of mankind, who have their confidence in God rewarded by revelations of God.

Dr. Hill asks what Lincoln would do if he were here today. He would be talking on all questions concerning the people in the spirit that characterized his second Inaugural and the Gettysburg speech. We can not interpret Lincoln in advance, but students of his life, ideas and ideals can approach his standpoint. The relations of the United States with the world, and the Power of the Republic to contribute to the

peace of the world, would secure fair appreciation in the mind of Lincoln.

He would have definite opinions on the debts owed to us by Europe. The settlement with Great Britain would receive his emphatic approval. He would wish to be generous and considerate with France, and his thoughts would not dwell on the amount of dollars we could secure, but on the larger matter: how justice and mercy and harmony of nations can best be preserved and promoted. On prohibition he would strive to promote temperance and maintain respect and obedience for law. Lincoln, while broad-minded, was a reverent believer, and he would have known how to reconcile fundamentalism with modernism.

A World Court with broad powers would appeal to him as directly in line with his appeals for universal peace. In harmony with the lessons of his life, would also be tax reduction, transfer of inheritance taxes to the States, economy in government and all efforts for thrift and happiness in homes. He would probably be the oracle and idol of succeeding generations rather than popular in this one.



New York,
Nov. 15, 1925.

If Lincoln Were Here

If Lincoln Were Here

IN an earlier volume Abraham Lincoln has been presented as a Man of God, whose highest ambition was to know and do the will of God, a man of faith and courage testing every question by the infallible standard of truth, always relying upon divine wisdom and justice, never doubting the ultimate triumph of the right.

It will be interesting by way of Epilogue to consider what Lincoln's views would be on the perplexing problems now confronting America.

At the battle of Marathon, the Athenians, outnumbered ten to one by the Persians, achieved a memo-

rable victory and the salvation of their country because, as the fable runs, the charge of the Greeks was led by the spirits of Castor and Pollux, their national heroes.

The annals of every people are full of instances showing how the inspiration of their heroic dead has stirred the hearts of patriots to noble and triumphant action.

It has remained for America to produce a figure which embodies the typical characteristics of our democracy, and makes appeal to the sympathies and aspirations of all mankind and whose ideals are the hope of the world.

In a very true sense, and it is perhaps the most striking fact in the entire history of the World War, the cause of the Allies found its deepest inspiration in the character

and achievements of Abraham Lincoln. Whether it was Lloyd George in the Parliament of England, or Clemenceau in France, or wherever it might be, it was the words of Lincoln that gave the highest inspiration to the forces fighting the battles of civilization, because these words were adapted to the issues of that great crisis and were instinct with the wisdom necessary to the solution of the problems it imposed. Lincoln's convincing logic for the right, and his faith in God and man are still the weapons of humanity in the unending conflict against the forces of darkness and despair.

When Lincoln closed his eyes upon the scenes of time, Stanton said: "Now he belongs to the ages!" He belongs to the ages because he belongs to humanity and he belongs

to humanity because he is the enshrined reality of democracy, the impersonation of the principles vital to the political and moral stability of the world.

Lincoln's Gift

Lincoln's gift, bestowed upon him by God and developed by the struggles through which he passed, was the power to distil the feelings and thoughts of the mass of men. His heart was a reservoir into which trickled the myriad rivulets from other hearts. In the nation's crisis, the pent up flood was loosed like a river flowing through a parched land and joining the eternal sea. What the many felt, he felt; what the many struggled to express in inarticulate cries, he distilled into

thought and translated into speech, illustrating the words of Lowell:

The thoughts that mold the age begin
Deep down within the primitive soul
And from the many souls upward wend
To one who grasps the whole.

All truth begins in feeling,—wide
In the great mass its base is hid,
And, struggling up, the truth stands glorified
A moveless pyramid.

As subtle as the multitudinous system of roots, anchoring an ancient oak, Lincoln was as simple and steadfast as the oak itself. He drew strength through the ministry of a million rootlets to concentrate and dispense it in shade and flower and fruit. Where he stood in the beginning, he stood at the end, conforming the truth with the adaptability of growth.

An oak fastens its roots to living rocks, deep buried in the cool earth; so Lincoln fastened the roots of his being to the eternal rock of truth in recesses where storms could not dislodge them. Around the Rock of Ages entwined the most tenacious tendrils of his soul. He likewise tested the anchorage of the Constitution and finding this firm and true, fastened to it with the strongest fibres of his faith and found in it shelter from cloud and storm.

"God and Country!"—these were the anchors which held him. "What is good in the sight of God?" "What is good before the law?" Lincoln asked and solved these questions because of his kinship with the truth, his faith in the right, his repose in the great spiritual realities. "Render unto God the things

that are God's and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" was his sublimely simple answer to the religio-political riddle of his day. That answer borrowed from the Nazarene, as was his declaration, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," is still the solvent of age-long problems. Lincoln, the man of the ages, schooled in the wisdom of experience, clothed with an authority born of his high place in history, is the source of illumination and direction which maintains the divinity of truth against the despotism of error.

Posthumous Influence

And so his sad, shawl clad figure is of all time. The memory of Washington has been reduced to a steel engraving, but Lincoln walks

not as a legendary figure clothed in the soft light of receding history, nor as a dim spectre appearing at midday as at midnight, but as a cosmic soul emancipated from the unholy thrall of time and place, free forever from the trammels of birth and blood and race and State, stepping silently into the infinitude of humanity; a world figure standing with mystic mien in the forefront of world problems, pointing the way toward the sun-path of spiritual reality.

Thus poised, we cannot think of him as dead to the issues arising from the crisis in which he wrought, or to the national destiny involved in those issues.

Standing upon the summit of these American centuries, his soul calls to the soul of America, and the

soul of America is responding as in the sixties: "We are coming, Father Abraham," not with bayonets of steel, but as Kossuth said, "with bayonets that think," with ideals quickened by the spirit of Lincoln restless for regnancy in the great republic he saved.

"Lincolnize America" should be our national slogan. Applying his principles to present day problems would lay anew the foundation of national power and stability. It would make an applied science of his maxims.

Spurious Quotations

If we neglect this inheritance, it will fall into alien hands. The representatives of agitation and revolution are already attempting to appropriate it. There are over two

hundred revolutionary publications in this country which are continually invoking the words of Lincoln in justification of their pernicious cause.

John Nicolay listed over a dozen spurious quotations, among them one which gained wide vogue, representing Lincoln as prophesying the ruinous reign of the money power. Of this his daughter, Helen Nicolay, writes:

"This alleged quotation seems to have made its first appearance in the campaign of 1888 and it has returned with planetary regularity ever since. Although convinced by internal evidence of its falsity, my father made every effort to trace it to the source, but could find no responsible nor respectable clue. The truth is

that Lincoln was no prophet of a distant day. His heart and mind were busy with the problems of his own time. The legacy he left his countrymen was not the warning of a seer, but an example and an obligation to free their own dark shadows with the sanity and courageous independence he showed in looking upon those that confronted him."

Lincoln himself anticipated this distortion of his memory when he said upon one occasion, "If I should be found dead tomorrow nothing but my insignificance would prevent a speech being made upon my authority before the end of next week." That prophecy is fulfilled today in the shameful misuses of Lincoln's name, in fragmentary and mutilated quotations of his words, in misap-

plication of his principles, in grotesque imitations of his democracy, in demagogic masquerading in his livery and shocking caricatures of his religious and spiritual character.

Through the flimsy screen of this studied and systematic deception, his words shine with beauty undimmed and candor undiminished, clothed with all their original simplicity, truisms which have stood the test of intervening years and will survive the mutations of time because truth is timeless.

A Lincoln Renaissance

The hour is opportune, therefore, for a Lincoln Renaissance, a revival of his letters, a return to the principles for which he lived and died: "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people,"

the divine right of liberty in man, Constitutional authority, the integrity of the Union, the majesty of the law, "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," religious tolerance, racial amity, the application of the Golden Rule to industrial problems, "A just and lasting peace" and the solution of every problem "With malice toward none and charity for all" and "Firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." There is nothing Utopian or obsolete in these articles of faith. They are instinct with life, applicable to conditions today and adaptable to all time; not iridescent baubles of political vacuity, but a body of faith which is the very cornerstone of our national life.

Such a renaissance should be cre-

ative; it should strike to the roots of things, deal with essentials and result in mental and spiritual illumination and transformation. Ethical tinkering, psychological cobbling and socialistic white-washing will accomplish nothing. Only the spirit of Lincoln, his love of the truth, his sympathy with humanity, his devotion to liberty and justice and his faith in the Eternal will bring the "New birth of freedom" for which he pled, reinstate democracy as the invincible body-guard of liberty and preserve representative government from the wrecking forces of ignorance and cupidity.

In 1802, Wordsworth wrote of Milton and expressed the wish for the return of the poet statesman to the councils of those stirring times. The stress of these days is far greater,

the problems confronting us more complicated and perplexing and the issues involved are so vital and imminent that Wordsworth's longing for the return of Milton finds its counterpart in the oft-repeated appeals which are being made from pulpit and press and platform to Lincoln's spiritual leadership.

Indeed Wordsworth's call to the soul of Milton, might well be paraphrased into the yearning cry of America:

Lincoln, thou shouldst be living at this hour:
America hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.

Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like
the sea:
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Lincoln said, "Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality." Would he feel were he here today that our ingratitude for the privileges of such a precious heritage, our indifference to the evils which threaten it, our lack of spiritual discernment and restraint must eventually arrest the forces of progress? What would he say of the sordid materialism, utterly antagonistic to the ideals for which he lived and died? What would be his attitude toward Mammonism which is slowly enervating the spiritual concepts

which were the creative forces of our early history, the loss of which will forfeit our spiritual leadership among the nations of the earth?

On November 10, 1864, speaking in response to a serenade at the White House, Lincoln said: "Gold is good in its place, but living, breathing, patriotic men are better than gold." These were the words of a prophet, a rainbow of inspiring promise encircling the years, to cheer confidence, inspire hope and strengthen faith.

It is not idle conjecture, therefore, with our knowledge of Lincoln's appraisal of the value of the individual man, coupled with his views on so many fundamental questions relating to government and men, to inquire of ourselves what

Lincoln would say of these questions were he to reappear in our midst.

Law Enforcement

We are living in a day when law enforcement is put to its severest test; when a small minority militant against the will of the majority, licensed by greed, limitless in audacity, usurping as desire advances, seeks to undermine the integrity of the Constitution, to trample upon a self-determining public respect for the law, and to violate with impunity social and civic order and stability. In the extremity of their desperation, the assailants of Constitutional authority, imitating the example of the "reds" seek to subsidize the influence of Lincoln.

Lincoln never hesitated to declare himself upon the question of

total abstinence, which he practised, and intemperance against which he warned. As early as February 22, 1842, at a celebration of Washington's birthday, then upon the threshold of his career, Lincoln seized the opportunity of declaring his position on the "Temperance Revolution." In the course of this remarkable address he said:

"Of our political revolution of '76 we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. But with all these glorious results, past, present and to come, it has its evils too. It breathed forth famine, swam in blood, and rode in fire; and long, long after, the orphan's cry and the widow's wail continued to break the

sad silence that ensued. These were the price, the inevitable price, paid for the blessings it bought.

"Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed—in it more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest; even the dram-maker and dram-seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness.

"And what a noble ally this, to the cause of political freedom; with such an aid, its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of

earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty!

"Happy day, when all appetite controlled, all passions subdued, all matter subjugated, mind—all conquering mind—shall live and move, the monarch of the world! Glorious consummation! Hail fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

"And when the victory shall be complete,—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on earth,—how proud the title of that land, which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory! How nobly distinguished that people, who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species!"

And if such language were not sufficient to restrain forever those who would capitalize Lincoln's influence in their unrighteous cause, let us quote him again in a letter to George E. Pickett, his boyhood friend, whose dramatic charge during the Civil War at Gettysburg years later, clothed his name with deathless fame. He said: "The one victory we can ever call complete will be that which will proclaim that there is not one slave or drunkard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory."

Still later, Mr. Lincoln defended fifteen women who were indicted for saloon smashing at Clinton, Illinois. These women adopted the hatchet as the symbol of their zeal a half century before Carrie Nation, inspired by the tactics of John

Brown, wielded the same instrument against the saloon. Lincoln did not endorse such methods, but so intense was his abhorrence of the dramshop that he volunteered the defense of the Clinton crusaders on the ground that there are times when the law of necessity justifies drastic action. In addressing the court he said:

"I will say a few words in behalf of the women who are arraigned before your honor and the jury. I would suggest, first, that there be a change in the indictment, so as to have it read, 'The State of Illinois against Mr. Whiskey' instead of against these defendants. It would be more appropriate. Touching this question there are three laws: First, the law of self-protection; second,

the law of the statute; third, the law of God. The law of self-protection is the law of necessity as shown when our fathers threw the tea into Boston harbor, and in asserting their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is the defense of these women. The man who has persisted in selling whiskey has no regard for their well-being or for the welfare of their husbands and sons. He has had no fear of God or regard for man; neither has he had any regard for the laws of the statute. The course pursued by this liquor dealer has been for the demoralization of society. His groggery has been a nuisance. These women, finding all moral suasion of no avail with this fellow, oblivious to all tender appeal, alike regardless of their prayers and tears, in order to

protect their households and promote the welfare of the community, united to suppress the nuisance. The good of society demands its suppression. They accomplished what otherwise could not have been done."

That Lincoln's convictions on this question remained with him to the day of his assassination, we have ample evidence. In the *Christian Advocate* of February 6, 1919, appear the affidavits, documents and data of the late Major James B. Merwin who died April 5th, 1917, concerning the attitude toward prohibition of Mr. Lincoln from 1855 to 1865. According to this and collateral evidence Lincoln campaigned throughout Illinois in 1855 in the interest of an Amendment to the State

Constitution which he himself had drawn, but which when submitted to the voters failed of approval. It is significant that as Major Merwin was talking with the President a few hours before his assassination, Mr. Lincoln said to him according to affidavit:

"Merwin, we have cleaned up a colossal job. We have abolished slavery. The next great movement will be the overthrow of the legalized liquor traffic, and you know my heart and my hand, my purse and my life will be given to that great movement. I prophesied twenty-five years ago that the day would come when there would not be a slave or drunkard in the land. I have seen the first part come true."

Personality Liberty

If Lincoln were here today what would he say to those who are violating the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution in the name of what they benightedly characterize as their "personal liberty"? He would probably repeat his words in an address in Baltimore in 1864:

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty."

What would he say to those who connive at lawlessness, wink at the violation of the Constitution and attempt to exalt natural rights above

civil rights? What would he say to those timid souls who are ready to betray this holy cause into the hands of the enemy with a kiss, who declare that because the Volstead Act is not an absolute success it is an absolute failure, and forgetting that success in anything is only a matter of approximation, are ready to strike their colors and negotiate a truce with the enemy? He would say to these lawbreakers and their sympathizers what he said with all his heart to an audience of young men at Springfield on January 27, 1837:

"As the patriots of '76 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and the laws, let every American pledge his life, his prop-

erty and his sacred honor; let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample upon the blood of his fathers and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpits, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. In short, let it become the political religion of the nation."

"Man is the missionary of order" said Carlyle in one of his moments of vision. Lincoln was inspired by this same thought when in contem-

plation of the present and future of his country he exclaimed:

"All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years. At what point then is the danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us, it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time or die by suicide."

Then, calling attention to the growing disposition to disregard the

Constitution sealed by the blood of its historic framers, he declared that our government was built upon the principle of "majority rule," and continuing, "If the time ever comes in America when a minority can frustrate the will of the majority, the result will be mobocracy upon the one hand or tyranny on the other."

No form of government known to history is so beset with peril as so-called "Free Government." Lincoln declared, "Freedom does not mean the right to do as one pleases." Another way of saying liberty is not license. It does not mean the right to jeopardize the rights of others, to ignore danger signals, spurn safety regulations, desecrate and destroy property, scatter firebrands, waste natural resources and ignore the just claims of others, par-

ticularly the unborn, who are not here to protest. No, that is not freedom, it is desecration. Yea, more, it is Anarchy, that fierce, lawless, barbaric individualism that is a law unto itself, that scoffs at traditions and customs, that respects neither ancestry nor posterity, man nor God, the lawless spirit against which Lincoln cried and which today threatens our national existence.

*Richard Henry Lee of Virginia stated an old truism in a striking way when he declared, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Goethe put the same truth in a more personal way when he said, "No man is worthy of freedom who

*Without the rules of law and their enforcement, mere might would be substituted for absolute right and man would be descended to a condition worse than wild animals.—Elbert H. Gary, Address at Waldorf Astoria, January 6, 1925.

will not win it day by day"; which truism Lincoln only stated in a different way when he declared, "If I can have the generous co-operation of the people of this country, the flag of our country will be kept flaunting gloriously."

To Lincoln the flag was both history and prophecy. In its field of blue he saw our past; in its stars the promise of greater glory yet to be.

Progress

His was a forward-looking program. He was not a dreamer, nor a haloed illusionist. His spirit of progress was expressed in steadiness rather than haste. He knew the difference between progress and motion. He was neither a reactionary nor a revolutionary. He occupied middle ground where progress is

always found. In his address before the Historical Society of Connecticut, Charles A. Dana said, speaking of Lincoln, "He was never a step too late nor a step too soon." With William the Conqueror he believed that "Events are God marching" and it was his highest ambition to keep step with events. He, therefore, moved a step at a time; one foot was always on the ground. If he were here today he would not be a stand-patter, but a sure-stepper. He declared that "The dogmas of the past are inadequate to the stormy present," warned against "rashness" and urged "ceaseless vigilance." In his Cooper Union speech he declared,

"I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our

fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience, to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive and argument so clear, that even their authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we."

Progress with him was only another word for growth. Illustrating this thought he said:

"A man watches his pear tree day after day, impatient for the ripening of the fruit. Let him attempt to force the process and he will spoil both fruit and tree. But let him

patiently wait and the ripe pear at last falls into his lap."

He would not attempt to rebuild the world overnight. To those who proposed such an experiment, the radicals of his day, he said:

"You are united among yourselves in your determination to break with the past, but you are utterly divided as to where you are going."

Lincoln had a goal and that was always the Constitution. Abhorring slavery, he revered the Constitution which sheltered it and would leave it under the Constitution, but not consent to its invasion of virgin soil. This purpose he declared in a speech in Cincinnati in 1859, when he said:

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the

States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it and the general welfare does not require it. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law because the Constitution requires us, as we understand it, not to withhold such a law, but we must prevent the outspreading of the institution because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

The professional progressives of today would do well to halt in their heedless haste and study the example of Lincoln the ideal progressive of the ages. He "proved all things" and held "fast to that which is good."

Economic Determinism

"Progress and Beyond," a book from the pen of a gifted socialist describes the Socialist State as the goal of true progressiveness. This program of economic joyriding would make no appeal to Lincoln. Its basic doctrine of "Economic Determinism," would be obnoxious to his spiritual faith and experience. In "Sidelights on Contemporary Socialism," this crass doctrine is defined as the "Determining force in social evolution," "the explanation of all intellectual and social progress." Engels, literary executor of Marx, explains this principle as follows:

"From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not

in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternity, truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange."

Here, in the last analysis, we have human hopes, fears, convictions and beliefs touching time and eternity, laws, morals, religion, marriage, education and civilization explained by the economic laws of production, distribution and consumption.

Lincoln represented the very antithesis of this soulless philosophy. It was his sense of personal accountability to God, his faith in an overruling Providence, his familiarity with the Scriptures, his habit of prayer, his tenderness and pity, love of the truth, devotion to righteousness and faith in his destiny that lifted him from obscurity to the pina-

cle of world influence and leadership.

It was this sense of dependence upon God more than adventitious circumstances that made Abraham Lincoln what he was. Nor did he ever hesitate to acknowledge it. In the midst of the bewildering problems of the Civil War he said:

"I am driven to my knees over and over again because I have no where else to go."

There is no place for prayer in the philosophy of Marx; no room for faith or hope of immortality in the principle of Economic Determinism which surrenders character and civilization to the blind forces of nature. Lincoln's foundation was the Rock of Ages. Upon this he stood and viewed

the universe as the handiwork of God, saw the hand of Providence working behind the shifting scenes of time and recognized "The power that makes for righteousness" directing the destiny of mankind. It was this faith that made him seer and guide, prophet and comforter. He reminded his dying father:

"He notes the fall of a sparrow and numbers the hairs of our heads and will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him."

And it was with this same clinging faith in Providence that he wrote the memorable letter to Mrs. Bixby whose

"Five sons had died gloriously on the field of battle,"

closing with a benediction as tender and sacred as ever penned by mortal man:

"I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

Mankind will search in vain for such a pæan of faith and hope upon the cold lips of materialistic despair.

Individualism

There is no phase of the Marxian philosophy that appealed to the confidence or respect of Abraham Lincoln. Against its principle of communism he illustrated the wis-

dom and possibilities of individualism by declaring:

"To the humblest and poorest among us are held out the highest privileges and positions. The present moment finds me in the White House, yet there is as good a chance for your children as for my father's."

We are hearing a great deal nowadays about the difference between human rights and property rights. There is no such difference. The one necessitates the other. Lincoln was the apostle of human rights and as such insisted upon the right of the individual to acquire and hold property. He said:

"That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit

of their own interest should after a while accumulate property and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace is right"

and again:

"The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves his surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account for another while, and at length hires another to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all and consequently an improvement of condition to all."

Withhold this hope and life will become a game of grab and men beasts of prey.

Private Property

Arthur Young declared a century ago:

"The stimulus of private property turns the sands into gold."

Slowly through the ages, the institution of private property has supplanted communism which spells savagery and decadence. Upon the institution of private property the great modern states have arisen. Upon the foundation of private property these peoples have built wealth and founded democratic and representative institutions. They have seen order and organization replace anarchy and disorder, they have seen freedom replace tyranny; they have seen the principle estab-

lished that "A man's home is his castle," and cannot be invaded except by due process of law.

The entire political philosophy of Lincoln was built upon this principle. In his Cincinnati speech in 1859, he said:

"I hold that if there is any one thing that can be proved to be the will of Heaven by external nature around us, without reference to Revelation, it is the proposition that whatever any one man earns with his hands and by the sweat of his brow, he shall enjoy in peace."

Government Ownership

Socialism denounces this as Capitalism and proposes the experiment of Government ownership of land, mines, factories, machinery, means

of transportation and all public utilities. Lincoln saw the peril of such an innovation and lifted a warning voice against its paternalistic principle when he said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well in their separate or individual capacities. In all that people can individually do for themselves the government ought not to interfere."

The wisdom of this utterance is seen in the debacle of every governmental venture in the field of paternalism, notably Government Control of the Railways during the World War, an experiment from the waste

and wreckage of which the railways under private management are slowly recovering.

Government ownership may be a captivating program to the ignorant and indigent, a growing class of citizens who feel that the government is under obligation to them, but to the thrifty and self-reliant, those who understand that the government derives its rights and resources from the citizen and that its function is to protect individual rights and not invade or destroy them, the proposition of State ownership and control is fraught with the greatest peril. It is built upon the principle that the citizen is the ward of the State and that his property, his children and his home belong to the State. This doctrine is clearly enunciated in the Communist Manifesto, the Bible of

Socialism, in the following unmistakable language:

The Family

"On what foundation is the present family based? On capitalism, private gain. In its completely developed form, the family exists only among the bourgeoisie. This family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

Engels, who collaborated with Marx in the Communist Manifesto, elaborates this idea in his *Origin of the Family* where he says:

"With the transformation of the means of production into collective property, the monogamous family

ceases to be the economic unit of society; the private household changes to a social industry, the care and education of children becomes a public matter."

No less an authority than Mr. H. G. Wells, the distinguished Socialist philosopher, gave unqualified endorsement to this program in the New York *Independent*, November 1, 1906, when he said:

"Socialism in fact is the State family; the old family of the private individual must vanish before it just as the old water works of private enterprise and the old gas company."

Against this proposed Nationalization of the home, its scientific mating, eugenic breeding and economic degradation, Lincoln directs every power

and passion of his head and heart declaring that:

"The home is the cornerstone of our civilization, the source of our strength and glory."

And recalling the scenes of his childhood in his own cabin home which to him was school and sanctuary in one he exclaimed:

"All that I am or ever hope to be, I owe to my angel mother. I remember her prayers; they have clung to me all my life."

Socialism is not progress. It is as Elihu Root once declared:

"A relapse into barbarism."

It is not a reform as many of its sincere disciples believe. Robert

Hunter, the placid philosopher of Marxianism, in his *Socialist at Work*, speaking of the Socialists says:

"No reforms satisfy them. Their ideals and aims are beyond any immediate attainment, and national ownership, municipal ownership, labor protection, the demolition of slums, the abolition of child labor, none of these reforms receive from them more than cold approval for the reason that Socialism is not a reform, but a revolution."

Revolution

If Lincoln were here today he would oppose this Revolutionary program exactly as he opposed revolution in his own day.

"Let there be peace," he said,

"Revolutionize through the ballot box."

In one of his characteristic aphorisms he advised,

"We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it."

He continually warned against violence. To a committee from the Working Men's Association of New York he said,

"The strongest bond of sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring

himself that his own will be safe from violence when built."

He insisted that, "There is no grievance that justifies redress by mob law." He was well aware of what he called a "disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgments of courts and the worse than savage mob for the executive ministers of justice."

His respect for the Court was supreme. If he were here today he would denounce the seditious attacks upon our judicial system as subversive of Constitutional government.

"Judicial Decisions," he declared, "have two uses, first, to absolutely determine the case decided and secondly to indicate to the public how similar cases will be decided when

they arise. We believe in obedience to and respect for the Judicial Department of Government. Its decisions on Constitutional questions when fully settled should control, not only the particular case decided, but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself. More than this would be revolution."

There are two outstanding questions before the American people today of importance to mankind in any age, upon which we can safely predict the attitude of Lincoln were he here.

The Ku Klux Klan

The first involves the question of religious liberty. From the time of the Pilgrim Fathers, liberty of con-

science in religious worship has been unrestrained. Today that right is challenged by those who in the name of "One Hundred Per Cent Americanism" would destroy this citadel of American liberty. This same assault was directed against freedom of conscience by the old "Know-nothing" party toward which Lincoln declared his attitude in 1844, when he denounced it as "un-Christian," threatening to "overwhelm the country and to place proscriptionists in power." So earnest and determined was he in his opposition to this un-American crusade that he led in calling a meeting of protest in Springfield in June of that year at which he introduced and supported a resolution declaring that, "The guaranty of the right of conscience as found in the Constitution is most sacred and

inviolable and one that belongs no less to the Catholic than to the Protestant." His resolution further declared that, "all attempts to abridge or interfere with those rights, directly or indirectly, have our decided disapprobation and shall have our most effective opposition." During that crisis Lincoln wrote a letter on the subject to his boyhood friend, Joshua F. Speed, in which he said:

"As a nation we began by declaring that 'All men are created free and equal.' We are now attempting to limit that proposition. When it comes to making wholesale exceptions, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

It was thus that Lincoln spoke concerning the menace of "Know-nothingism" and if he were here today he would strike with the same precision and denounce with the same patriotic zeal the reappearance of the "Know-nothing" party in the Ku Klux Klan whose followers hide behind masks and costumes, appeal to racial and religious prejudice, capitalize bigotry and intolerance, resort to boycott and intimidation and imbue religion with the spirit of hatred and violence. By encouraging class consciousness, the Ku Klux antagonizes the plainest precepts of Holy Writ, desecrates the spirit of Christian democracy, violates the provisions of the Constitution and imperils the structure of popular government.

To halt this fanatical assault upon religious liberty and to restore the

spirit of brotherhood to a torn and distracted country, we need to invoke the spirit of Lincoln, who is still pleading as in 1860,—

"Let us remember that all American citizens are brothers in a common country and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling."

World Peace

Finally, if Lincoln were here today what would be his attitude on the question of World Peace? There are many warnings sounded today against perils springing from international relations and rivalry, from national isolation and aloofness and lack of international concord and co-operation.

The peril to be feared, as Lincoln

warned, is not from without, but from within, notably the professional peace propagandist who parades in the garb of humanitarianism, boasting of universal patriotism, speaking the language of universal brotherhood and declaiming against preparedness. When Nestor counselled the Greek generals in their attack upon Troy, he said: "The secret of victory is in getting a good ready." Our national atmosphere today is full of protests against "getting a good ready": "Preparedness arouses suspicion." "Armaments engender fear and retaliation." It is argued that Nationalism is the expression of selfishness and isolation; science and invention have eliminated space and distance; the events following the World War have obliterated the boundaries of nations; only through the spirit of Interna-

tionalism can the peace objective be reached and, therefore, patriotism must not be restricted to the land of our birth or adoption, but should extend to all the nations and races of mankind. What would Lincoln's answer be to this? Would the glare of Internationalism blind his eyes to the glory and supremacy of his own flag? Would love for humanity dilute or divert his love for native land? Early in his career he declared himself unqualifiedly as to this:

"Many free countries have lost their liberty," he said, "and ours may lose hers, but if she shall, be it my proudest plume not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her. If I ever feel the soul within me elevate and expand to

those dimensions not wholly unworthy of its Almighty Architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country deserted by all the world beside and I standing up boldly and alone hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. And here without contemplating consequences, before High Heaven and in the face of the whole world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty and my love."

This solemn oath he actualized in the preservation of the Union which stands today as the monument of his deathless devotion to Nationalism.

Nationalism, which strengthened rather than diminished his love of peace. Peace was with Lincoln a consuming passion. He said:

"The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am, nor who would do more to preserve it."

It was this love of peace which inspired him to say during the dark and bloody days of the Rebellion:

"Fondly do we hope; fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with a sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

For Lincoln Nationalism was worth fighting for.

"We shall nobly save," he said, "or meanly lose this last hope of earth."

He believed in peace, not at any price, but with justice and honor at home and abroad. In 1859 at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in an address before the State Agricultural Society, he said:

"To correct the evils great and small which spring from want of sympathy and from possible enmity among strangers as nations or individuals is one of the highest functions of civilization."

To Lincoln this "highest function" was the duty of all nations and in

his Presidential messages to foreign countries he lost no opportunity to encourage them in this most important service to mankind. But he believed that peace works from *within out* rather than from *without in*. And it was in recognition of this truth that he closed his second Inaugural with a Peace Dream which though delayed by international prejudice and rivalry is now in the dawn of its fruition.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are now in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan, TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHERISH A JUST

AND LASTING PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS!"

That was the dream which Lincoln breathed into the soul of the world, a dream of peace with justice for all mankind. There is no suggestion of isolation in this sentiment. Nationalism for America does not mean isolation. It means in a large sense of the word, a strong and united people for leadership in the advancement of the world towards the approaching fulfillment of Lincoln's dream which hovers like a bow of promise over the blood-stained and battle-scarred earth. And it is just this Nationalism, preserved and advanced by Lincoln, which furnishes the only gleam of light on the horizon of the world today. America must stand for leadership in a World

Peace, the source from which there shall flow out into all parts of the world the healing waters of human helpfulness.

Washington advised us against "entangling alliances," but not against enlarging territory and influence. When Washington gave us that advice, Democracy was still on trial. Our population was limited and our resources were unknown. The problem of self-government had not been solved. We knew nothing of the great empire west of the Alleghenies; but we were growing all the while. Growth is the sign of life. The young republic was expanding in equal proportions in all directions. We were rapidly becoming a world power.

Lincoln recognized our accountability to the world. He saw beyond

the Civil War a new era of democracy, the soul of which must be projected everywhere and he could not tolerate the thought of isolation. The old adage, "Every man for himself" must be changed into, "Each for all and all for each." International co-operation must hasten the new era of peace and brotherhood. Justinian declared that "Justice is in granting to every man his dues." Lincoln's dream of peace was coupled with justice,—"A just and lasting peace." A phrase prophetic of the Limited Disarmament Conference, now history and a coming tribunal of International Justice. It is interesting in this connection to note that one of the leading delegates in the Parliament of Peace at The Hague stated before that body that it was the action of Mr. Lincoln in

drawing up a code of rules of war for the Union armies which prompted Alexander II., then the czar of Russia, to propose the first Hague Conference, which was the forerunner of all the achievements of that Tribunal. Thus Lincoln stands in the dawn of an era of constructive peace. The world today is waiting for the enthronement of his conception of justice as the base and bond of this new era. Toward his ideal the nations are moving. The Powers are already contemplating a conference for this higher, nobler end. Lincoln will be present in spirit. It is not an idle prophecy that some delegate tracing the origin and development of the peace movement, dwelling upon its expansion from the abstract to the concrete will cite the foretokening words of Lincoln's Sec-

ond Inaugural as the initial impulse of the final stage of the dream of the ages, an International Tribunal for the adjudication of world controversies, the ground and guarantee of "A just and lasting peace." Prior to Lincoln's second Inaugural, international differences were occasionally arbitrated. Arbitration proceeds by negotiation and compromise. When Lincoln plead for peace with justice he was taking a long step in advance of arbitration. Justice suggests law and law stands for adjudication. Peace with justice can only be secured by the application of the principles of law. This is the goal of Internationalism today. The establishment of a World Tribunal for the adjudication of world controversies.

The World Court

Lincoln's conception of a World Court would be far removed from a super-government. He would recognize no International flag. He would not consent to the reduction of our government from the lantern-bearer of world hope to an international mendicant. His was the thought of National solidarity, that in the preservation of our integrity, we might expand and enlarge in peace and good will until our influence for amity and co-operation might encircle the world, a vision of collectivism at home, peace "among ourselves," and co-operation abroad "with all nations." Not a program of surrendered rights and policies, the transfer of the right to declare war from Congress to the League of Na-

tions, the submission of the Monroe Doctrine, our immigration policy, or any other question vital to our rights and life to an alien court. No. But rather such a peace at home as shall make us strong abroad. A peace characterized with such strength towards the strong and gentleness toward the weak that the world will recognize the source of our leadership in our devotion to Justice, love of liberty and consecration to humanity.

These are the outstanding problems of the day, questions so wrought into the texture of civilization that there are those who look with apprehension upon our future. They point to McCauley's prophecy of our national downfall and see in the rapidly growing spirit of selfishness and lawlessness in our midst, the auguries of its tragic fulfillment.

Remedies

Various remedies are suggested. A recent editorial in the Century Magazine pleads for "A New Encyclopedist," an intuitive mind to discover and mass all the necessary raw materials for a thorough-going renaissance of civilization, who would go with conscientious care through the findings of modern biology, psychology, anthropology, experimental ethics, genetics, economics, sociology, chemistry, physics, reducing to understandable terms the net social and spiritual contribution each of these adventures of the modern mind has made to the future of civilization, and "arrive at a fairly accurate sense of the dynamic ideas of the various sciences by applying them to the needs of the world."

History is replete with illustrations of the futility of such petty skirmishes in the titanic struggles of civilization.

The World War was the explosion of such an experiment.

Mazinni declared:

"The true instrument of the progress of a people is to be sought in the moral factor."

This was the galvanic spark in the philosophy of Lincoln. He stripped every question of its political and economic aspects, laying bear its moral character.

"If slavery is right," he declared at Cooper Union, "all words, acts, laws and constitutions against it are themselves wrong. If it is wrong, we dare not insist upon its extension.

Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy."

It is this acid test that is sorely needed today in the solution of the crucial questions confronting us. It was Lincoln's infallible standard of appraisal. He spurned compromise where a vital principle was involved. Expediency was obnoxious to his moral sense. In politics, the desideratum was not votes, but principle. His friends protested against the "House divided against itself" speech, declaring that it would defeat him. He answered that he would sooner,

"Go down to defeat with that principle than to win without it."

If he were here today he would restore moral vision to political leadership. He would enthrone principle above personality, patriotism above partisanship and statesmanship above demagogism. He would lead America back to the heights of spiritual illumination. He would not conspire for place. He would not capitalize silence in the presence of crying wrongs. He would speak out against national vice and venality, expose the strongholds of social and political corruption, rebuke the ostentations of wealth and the posturings of poverty, the autocracy of Capital and the despotism of Labor. He would exalt the Golden Rule above the rule of gold; insist upon law observance and obedience, the integrity of the Constitution and the spiritual foundation of civilization.

He would not temporize with existing evils. He would apply his "House divided against itself" principle to present-day problems. In 1859, he declared, "This nation cannot long endure half slave and half free." To-day he would say:

"This nation cannot long endure half law and half anarchy; half Bolshevist and half American; half Constitution and half nullification; half Ku Klux and half religious tolerance; half pagan and half Christian."

He would say as he did when a member of the Illinois legislature:

"You may burn my body to ashes and scatter them to the winds of Heaven. You may drop my soul down to the regions of darkness and

despair to be tormented forever, but you will never get me to support a measure which I believe to be wrong, although by doing so I may accomplish that which I believe to be right."

The Parting of the Ways

We are at the cross-roads of destiny. In every such crisis a beacon has been lighted for our guidance by the hand of Providence.

During the Civil War an extremity was reached when the cause of freedom drifted between hope and despair and the Union trembled in the doubtful scale. The National debt had grown until on February 2, 1863, the public credit was on the verge of ruin. Fredericksburg with its crushing defeat added terror to the situation. Beaten under Burn-

side, decimated and penniless, the Army of the Potomac had lost its morale and six-hundred desertions were reported daily. "Peace at any price," was the clamor of Northern editors and Greeley added his plaint in a letter to Lincoln saying:

"I venture to remind you that the bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country longs for peace."

What was the answer of the sleepless sentinel in the White House? It was not a proposed cessation of hostilities subject to the negotiation of peace at the cost of liberty and Union. It was something more direct, revealing and remedial. It was an appeal to the God of nations expressed in a proclamation setting aside "A day of national prayer and humiliation" declaring:

"It is the duty of Nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that 'those Nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord.'

"We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown; *but we have forgotten God.* We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strength-

ened us; and we have vainly imagined in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virture of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have be come too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to God that made us;

"It behooves us then to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

In response to that summons, a contrite and repentant nation set itself right before God. Gettysburg, Emancipation and Appomattox followed in sequential order.

Now we confront another crisis.

"Problems today are as grave and perplexing," declared the lamented Harding shortly before his death, "as the problems to which Lincoln brought as clear a mind and pure a soul as modern times have known."

The source of strength and guidance in hours of trial is the decisive criterion of the character of men and nations.

Having reached the forks of the road, which way shall America go? Standing between chaos and civilization, what is to be the next step? Destiny is hidden here. There is no half-way ground. We must choose between the economic and the spiritual; the Communist Manifesto and the Sermon on the Mount; the traditions of the fathers and founders of the Republic and the

revolutionary doctrines of Trotsky and Lenine, the lowlands of materialism and the religious highlands where Lincoln lived and died that we might live, and where he is pleading as loudly today as in the Gettysburg speech that,—

"Government of the people, for the people and by the people may not perish from the earth."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
MAN OF GOD

BY

JOHN WESLEY HILL

With Frontispiece Reproduced in Photogravure from an Autographed Photograph of Lincoln given to Mrs. Lucy G. Speed thanking her for the gift of an Oxford Bible

This is perhaps the first book on Lincoln to show that the mingling of goodness and greatness in Lincoln's character was inspired by his faith in the Eternal. With bold strokes Dr. Hill paints the picture of the man as he appeared at every significant moment and there seems no place in consequence for argument.

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